

Message Text

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APPROVED BY IO - SAMUEL W. LEWIS

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S/P:DPETTERSON (DRAFT)

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S/S:MR. REDDY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 231642 TOSEC 270342

FOR SCHAUFLE AND LORD FROM LEWIS AND SEEYLE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, SF, WA

SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON NAMIBIA

1. THE SECURITY COUNCIL REMAINS SCHEDULED TO CONVENE ON SEPTEMBER 22 ON NAMIBIA. UNLESS WE UNDERTAKE TO CHANGE THAT DATE AND TO GAIN POSTPONEMENT, THE DEBATE WILL LIKELY GO FORWARD. WE ARE ADDRESSING THIS PROBLEM TO YOU BECAUSE YOU ARE IN A POSITION TO CONNECT PROSPECTIVE EVENTS IN NEW YORK WITH THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE SECRETARY'S NEGOTIATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN WHAT FOLLOWS, WE OUTLINE FOR YOU THE TACTICAL SITUATION AS WE SEE IT AND REVIEW SOME OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO US IN DEALING WITH THE TIMING AND THE CONTENT OF THE DEBATE. IF THE SECRETARY DECIDES THAT ACTION IS NECESSARY, IT OBVIOUSLY SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN PROMPTLY.

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2. THE CHIEF TACTICAL ELEMENTS TO KEEP IN MIND ARE:

-- THE DEBATE IS STILL SCHEDULED TO BEGIN SEPTEMBER 22.

HOWEVER, TANZANIAN PERMREP SALIM GAVE THE IMPRESSION TO USUN ON SEPT 16 THAT IF THE SC DEBATE BEGAN ON SEPT 22 IT WOULD NOT BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO COMPLETE THE DEBATE WITHOUT INTERRUPTION. HE ALSO SAID THE SEPT 22 DATE MIGHT BE CHANGED "SHOULD AFRICAN MINISTERS SO DECIDE".

-- AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL BEGIN ARRIVING IN NEW YORK THIS WEEKEND FOR THE UNGA AND MANY OF THEM WILL EXPECT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NAMIBIA DEBATE. THERE WILL BE CONSIDERABLE MEDIA ATTENTION BOTH HERE AND IN AFRICA.

-- THE PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN GROUP FOR AUGUST 'AS ALREADY PUBLICLY STATED THAT THE GROUP FAVORS A CHAPTER VII DETERMINATION AND IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS BY THE SC ABSENT SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLIANCE WITH SC RESOLUTION 385.

-- THE LONGER WE REMAIN SILENT, THE MORE LIKELY THE DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL WILL BE GUIDED BY RADICAL AFRICAN POSITIONS AND BE SUBJECT TO SOVIET SPOILING TACTICS.

3. THE OPTIONS AS WE SEE THEM ARE:

A. LET THE DEBATE GO AHEAD ON SEPT 22 AND SIMPLY INFORM OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL THAT WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO JOIN IN THE DEBATE UNTIL THE SECRETARY CONCLUDES HIS TRIP TO AFRICA. THIS APPROACH MAY OR MAY NOT PROMPT THE AFRICANS TO STRING OUT THE DEBATE AFTER AN INITIAL MEETING ON SEPT 22, AS SUGGESTED TO USUN BY SALIM. THIS WOULD BE A GOOD COURSE IF WE CAN OFFER SOME EVIDENCE PRIVATELY THAT NAMIBIA ISSUE REMAINS UNDER ACTIVE NEGOTIATION LEADING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. LACKING SUCH EVIDENCE THE RHETORIC IN THE SC WILL FEED ON ITSELF AND INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF A HARSH DRAFT RESOLUTION BY THE BLACK AFRICANS.

B. WE COULD SEEK FURTHER POSTPONEMENT OF THE DEBATE. THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE DONE INDIRECTLY BY ENLISTING THE SUPPORT OF PRESIDENTS NYERERE AND KAUNDA. THEY WOULD HAVE

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TO BE IN A POSITION, WE ASSUME, TO ARGUE WITH OTHER AFRICANS THAT THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS ARE PRODUCING SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION AND THAT SEPT 22 SC MEETING WOULD BE PREMATURE, PERHAPS PREJUDICING THEIR OUTCOME.

C. THE SECRETARY MIGHT ENGAGE HIMSELF MORE DIRECTLY BY WRITING TO WALDHEIM, DESCRIBING IN GENERAL TERMS THE

CURRENT STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS, ASKING THAT HE CONVEY HIS ASSESSMENT TO THE SC, AND SUGGESTING THAT A POSTPONEMENT OF THE SC DEBATE COULD HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT ON HIS EFFORTS. THIS APPROACH WOULD MAKE SENSE IF THE TANZANIANS AND ZAMBIANS DO NOT WANT TO TAKE A DIRECT ROLE IN BRINGING ABOUT POSTPONEMENT, BUT WOULD ALSO BE WILLING NOT TO OPPOSE SUCH A MOVE.

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D. A MORE DRAMATIC MOVE WOULD BE FOR THE SECRETARY TO REQUEST POSTPONEMENT BY A LETTER TO WALDHEIM AND AT THE SAME TIME STATE THAT HE WILL BE PREPARED TO REPORT TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OR THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON THE RESULTS OF HIS NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS. THIS EFFORT WOULD BE DRAMATIC AND WOULD VERY LIKELY ACHIEVE THE PURPOSE OF POSTPONEMENT. IT WOULD ALSO INVOLVE HIGHER RISK IN THAT THE CONCLUSION WHICH WILL BE DRAWN IS THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE REponsive TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF SC RESOLUTION 385.

4. A RELATED ISSUE ON WHICH WE NEED YOUR ADVICE IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER CHIEF KAPUWO SPEAKS BEFORE THE SC ON NAMIBIA UNDER THE SAME RULE 39 PROCEDURE UNDER WHICH WE EXPECT THE SWAPO REP TO BE HEARD. WE HAD INSTRUCTED USUN TO CONSULT WITH THE BRITISH AND AFRICANS AND TRY TO WORK OUT AN UNDERSTANDING SO THAT KAPUWO COULD SPEAK. THE AFRICANS HAVE NOW DECIDED TO REJECT KAPUWO'S BID TO ADDRESS THE COUNCIL. SINCE USUN FEELS CERTAIN THAT THE AFRICANS CAN PRODUCE THE VOTES TO BLOCK A PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL TO ALLOW KAPUWO TO SPEAK, THE QUESTION FACING US IS HOW STRONGLY TO PUSH FOR HEARING KAPUWO. WE COULD FORCE A VOTE IN A FORMAL SC MEETING, ARGUING THE RIGHT OF THE COUNCIL TO HEAR ALL SPEAKERS WHO HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY

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ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE, AND TAKE A DEFEAT IN THE LIKELY COMPANY OF THE UK, FRANCE, ITALY, AND PERHAPS JAPAN. OR WE COULD MAKE VERY CLEAR OUR POSITION IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS AND AVOID A PUBLIC VOTE. WE WOULD RECOMMEND PURSUING THE LATTER COURSE SINCE STRONG PUBLIC US SUPPORT OF KAPUWO COULD VERY POSSIBLY PROVE HARMFUL TO BOTH KAPUWO AND THE US.

ROBINSON

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